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THE ETHNIC AREA*

The Romanian people are characterized by their astonishing unity. Philologists and ethnographers who study the human community of the Carpathio-Danubian region are surprised by the absence of dialects among the Romanians living there and by the common basis of their customs and beliefs. These people are situated in an area with a diameter of about one thousand kilometers which is composed of a topography as varied as that of the Carpathian Mountains, the rolling hills on the east and west, and the plains which border the north bank of the Danube. To understand why there is such a unity among the people settled within an area surrounded by the Danube, the Black Sea, the Dniester River, and eastern plain of the Tisza, one must review the stages of their evolution.

Because of the topography, the main ancestral occupations were agricultur and the raising of livestock. At the time of the invasion of Alexander the Great (335 BC), the Macedonian soldiers discovered such rich fields of wheat that they could not go through them without the aid of their lances held horizontally (according to Arrianus). The raising of sheep is recorded on the column of Trajan in Rome, and in present day Dobrogea on the monument of Adam Klisi, erected by the same emperor, which portrays Dacian shepherds guarding their sheep. The popular ballad "Miorita" (The Sheep), which retraces the life of a shepherd, is a moving expression of the world vision of the Romanian people. This episode takes place on the meadows bordering the slopes of the Carpathians, and the dialogue between the shepherd and the sheep, eternal companions, is indeed the meditation of a solitary person constantly wandering, for the pastoral life implies the phenomenon of transhumance. So the early life of these people was spent working the fields and pasturing their sheep. Attached to the soil by agriculture, they discouraged many invasions due to the soberness of their customs and their tenacious will.

When Lysimachus, successor of Alexander, crossed in his turn the Danube (292 BC) and fell prisoner with his army, King Dromihete preferred to establish peace through agreement, rather than by an ephemeral victory. After an abundant meal was served to the prisoners on sumptuous dishes, while the victorious army was satisfied with ordinary food on wooden plates, the King, according to Diodorus, explained to Lysimachus what little there was to be gained and how much could be lost by comparable adventures. Whether united in the Dacian kingdom of Burebista (70-40 BC), or assembled around the local princes, the shepherds never abandoned their seasonal migrations. Even natural obstacles did not keep the master of the sheep from leading his flock from the western mountains of Transylvania towards the plain of the Tisza and from the Carpathians,

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*Chapter 1 from ASPECTS DES RELATIONS RUSSO-ROUMAINES - Retrospective et orientations. Paris, Minard, 1967.

beyond the Danube and the Dniester. Even the Danube, the most important river of the continent, was never a barrier to their seasonal migrations. Proof of this is given by the numerous places situated along the river banks still known as "Vadul Oii" (The Ford of the Sheep), witnesses to former crossings. The constant migrations did not permit the shepherd the enjoyment of a sedentary family life. Since ancient times, villages were to be found scattered along the axes of transhumance, deep in the valleys, sheltered from the rigors of the weather and from invaders. The time spent here with wife and children was only a brief moment in the annual rhythm of the shepherd's life. He spent the major part of the year alone. The "Dor" expresses the nostalgia for loved ones and fed the imagination of the solitary one, far from his own people.

After shearing-time, summer brought a renewal in the life of the people dispersed to the four horizons. The crests of the Carpathians which had seemed to separate the population now all at once served as points of meeting and reunion. On the meadows surrounding the summits, the flocks of the East plains, of the South and of the West found each other along with their shepherds. To the rhythm of the flutes, young girls and shepherds danced, while the adults listened to the stories of the old men. While the young people from each side of the mountain discovered each other, got acquainted and mingled, myths and legends, told in the same language, developed and spread. The results of these summer reunions were incalculable. Places designated as "Targul Fetelor" (The Girls' Market), and the "Hramul Ciobanilor" (The Shepherds' Dedication), became in the course of years the occasion for a continual renewal of homogeneity. When in autumn the shepherds returned to the plains, they took with them the sum of customs and beliefs which, in spite of successive invaders, enabled the Romanian people to preserve their astonishing unity over their whole ethnic area.

Dacia

From antiquity, historians have given evidence of the ethnic unity of these territories. Herodotus was the first to mention the "Getae" whom the Romans named Dacians. Dionysius Periegetes was the first to point out that "the immense country of Dacia, was situated north of the lower course of the Histros (Danube) adjoining on the east and northeast the Alan warriors." Strabo indicates that the "Getae" extended from the Bohemian Mountains and the Balkans to the Black Sea and the country of the Tyregetes, situated on the Dniester. He named the territory between north of the Danube delta and the Dniester "the steppe of the Getae," and moreover he informs us that the Dacian king, Burebista, gathered together "those men hardened by endless wars," imposing on them a sober life, and subjecting them to his rule. This is the period when he ordered the uprooting of vineyards. Thus, in a few years Burebista formed a vast empire of enough importance to alarm Rome. The Dacian people constantly crossed the Danube without hindrance, devastating Thrace as far as Macedonia and even participating as allies of Pompey in the civil war. At the same time, the Dacian king, having at his disposal numerous warriors, launched an attack against the Sarmato-Bastarna south of present day Bessarabia, and conquered the cities of Olbia and Tyrsa north of the Black Sea (50-48 BC). In the third century of our era, Ptolemy delineated the borders of Dacia as follows (Geography III.8): "on the north the Carpathians, on the west

the river Tisza, and on the south the Danube." According to Strabo, the eastern frontier was altered by the renewed infiltrations of the Sarmatians and Bastarna for the purpose of installing themselves on a line connecting the Upper Siret with the Dniester at the point where the river begins to turn, southeast of today's town of Hotin. The presence of the Dacian people northwest of the Black Sea is confirmed by the recent studies of the Soviet scholars T.D. Zlaptkovskaia and C.B. Fedorov which place the Dacian cities of Susudava and Setidava in that region.

Except for the existence of the Greek colonies on the north and west shores of the Black Sea since the seventh century BC, the Persian expeditions under Darius (514 BC), noted by Herodotus, and the expeditions of Alexander (335 BC) and Lysimachus, few historical facts are known to us previous to the arrival of the Romans on the lower Danube (1st century BC). From this moment, when the frontiers of the Roman empire reached the Danube, and when present day Dobrogea was included in the province of Lower Moesia, the Roman troops exercised their power over the people situated north of the river. Strabo gives an account of the campaigns conducted to the north of the Danubian delta. In the year 11-12 AD, the Romans moved 50,000 inhabitants from north of the Danube to the south. In another campaign in the year of 65-66 AD, the Roman troops passed along the northern shore of the Black Sea reaching the Crimea, rescued the city of Cherson and transferred 100,000 inhabitants from the left bank of the Danube to the right bank. In captivity, the Dacians were obliged to adapt themselves to the Roman way of life. When after years of hard labor, some managed to escape and to get back to their own homes, they brought with them the language, the culture, and the knowledge which they had acquired.

The Roman Conquest

The constant insecurity which the Dacians, unified by the great king Decebalus (end of the first century AD), created for the Roman provinces south of the Danube, led the Roman emperor Trajan to conquer their kingdom. The knowledge of the existence of rich gold mines in Transylvania also must have influenced Trajan's decision. After the two bloody battles of 101-102 and of 105-106, the Dacian capital was taken. King Decebalus killed himself to escape captivity. Once united to the empire, the territory was divided. Present day Transylvania, Banat, and Oltenia formed the province of Dacia, while Wallachia, Moldavia and Bessarabia were either attached to the province of Moesia or left to the direction of local chiefs under Rome. The Roman administration remained in the province of Dacia until 271 AD, the year in which, under pressure of the Goths, Aurelian withdrew his legions and his officials south of the Danube. However, Roman influence continued due to its colonists and merchants who remained in their places, and to the political ties which were maintained. Constantine the Great built a new bridge and reconquered the northern bank of the Danube (322 AD), Valens in 367/69, and Justinian 527/565, in his military campaign against the Crimea reoccupied the southern part of today's Bessarabia. During this period from the first century AD until the arrival of the Avars at the end of the sixth century AD, close to seven centuries, the civilizing work of Rome allowed the people, resulting from a mixture of Dacians and Romans, to form themselves and to acquire such a cohesion that no exterior vicissitudes could penetrate.

From the retirement of the Roman legions until the foundation of the Principality of Wallachia (13th century) and of Moldavia (14th century), a period of a thousand years, the new-born Romanian people were constantly subjected to barbarian invasions. Lacking the political elements which would enable them to pursue a unified policy, the population gathered around local chiefs (whom history has ignored with a few exceptions), reacting in response to basic principles of the human being: defense of its freedom and of its ancestral forms of civilization. The force of these principles is such that they constitute the political goals of every social group which has passed the stage where subsistance represents the sole preoccupation of existence.

It must be emphasized that the Roman presence generated a Latin people north of the Danube after only 165 years of colonization, while previously the Celts had sojourned in Dacia for two centuries, and afterwards Germanic peoples will stay there for three centuries, the Slavs for 350 years and the Petchenegs and Cumans almost as long, and yet none of these dominations ever succeeded in modifying the ethnic structure of the subjected population. The success of Rome's policy can be explained in the first place by its civilizing skill. As the center of the culture and organization of the ancient world, Rome was adroitly able to manipulate the assimilation and integration of the people in its empire.

The activities undertaken after each conquest by former legionnaires, some of whom became colonists, and by the merchants and engineers, facilitated economic development as well as the consolidation of the populations. Only a power which had attained a superior degree of civilization could put such resources to work. The conquered populations were actually far from being as primitive as their designation as "barbarians" would indicate. Strabo, for instance, indicates that the Dacians not only had a considerable consciousness of unity, but also that their spirituality, artistic taste, and even the means by which they provided for their material needs, were all at an evolved level. The remains of the capital demonstrate the mastery of an advanced architectural technique, the knowledge of writing and a developed science of astronomy, as shown by the placing of the columns of their circular temple. Certain features of the gold embroidery and ornamented ceramics prove their artistic taste, whereas the collection of botany and pharmacology mentioned by Dioscorides, and a medical kit recently discovered, testify to their knowledge in these areas. The Greek amphoras containing oil and wine of Mediterranean origin show that the population, or at least the Dacian notables, used high grade imported products.

The fact that the Dacians were conquered more by civilization than by force of arms will be confirmed subsequently when these same people, subjected to other invaders, will refuse to mingle with them and will force them by their non-cooperativeness to search for other more receptive territories.

As productive as the contribution of Rome was, its domination was greatly resented, perhaps mostly by the upper classes. The desire to be governed by their own people rather than by outsiders--a sentiment which animates all the struggles for independence--preserved its intensity throughout the Roman domination. Several funeral monuments attest to

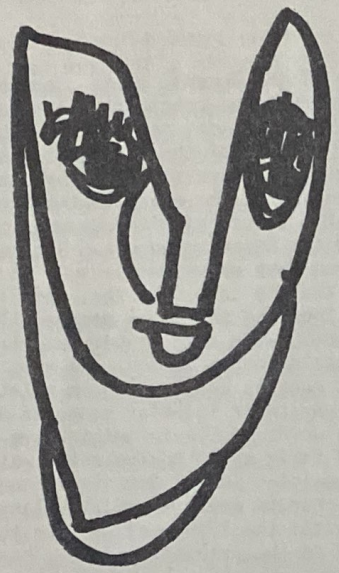
assassinated imperial functionaries. Uprisings took place, Roman fortresses were set on fire and demolished. To prevent escapes across the border, as well as infiltration from outside, the Romans established along the confines of the Province a strip of deserted land about five miles wide--a technique which set the fashion for later on. The Dacian tribes which did not submit to Rome retired to the wooded mountains of Maramures and of Bukovina and to the area north of today's Bessarabia, and continually harassed the Roman military posts. Repeatedly, during the second and third centuries, in alliance with other peoples, the Dacians invaded the provinces occupied by the Romans without ever succeeding in driving them away.

The Invasions

After the withdrawal of the Romans, Dacia, decolonized by Aurelian, far from regaining its freedom, was constantly invaded. However, the impact of the barbarians did not last, since their degree of evolution was considerably inferior to that of the natives to whom they had little they could teach. Moreover, the persistence of Byzantine influence up to the sixth century finally took the edge off the characteristic traits of these warriors. Only the Slavs constituted an exception and their passage profoundly marked the Romanian people. But here also, the civilization inherited from Rome prevailed because it was superior. It is nevertheless probable that in certain areas, the Slavs possessed techniques equivalent to those of the local people. This explains the high percentage of words of Slavic origin used in relation to agriculture, livestock, and social organization. We must emphasize, however, that in other areas such as housing, terms relate to minor aspects, proving in this way their inferior stage of development. With the above exceptions, the words of Slavic origin have circulating ability less than that of their Latin equivalents, which proves that the ideas they represent pre-existed in the Romanian linguistic patrimony. The same was true of the church, where the Slavic language (Salonica dialect) was maintained until the 17th century, due to the spiritual hegemony of Byzantium and to the orthodox monks. The Slavic words were super-imposed on the Latin vocabulary which goes back to the Christianization of the Roman period.

It must be emphasized that the Slavs who dwelt in the Romanian ethnic area constituted a branch of the Southern Slavs. Incorporated in the Byzantine empire, it is through them that the latter exercised a determining influence over the Eastern Slavs, ancestors of the present Russians. The civilizing element came from the south, in the form of Orthodox Christianity to which the princes of Kiev were converted in the tenth century. The Slavic alphabet created by the monks Methodius and Cyril is none other than a stylized Greek alphabet. Just as in order to establish a powerful empire the Slavs of the Balkans had need of a catalytic element represented by the Bulgars, so the Eastern Slavs on the banks of the Dnieper had to await the arrival of the Scandinavians under the leadership of Ruric to form the rich and powerful principality of Kiev. It was only at this time--in the ninth century--that the state which history considers the ancestor of today's Russia was formed.

At the time when the Slavs of the East sketched out their political unification and began a civilization which was to extend beyond the Urals, the Romanian people had already been in existence for close to six centuries. In their ethnic area extending from the Danube to the Dniester and from the Black Sea to the eastern plains of the Tisza, this people had stubbornly preserved the heritage of their ancestral civilization.



A. Gorjiu
M. Korne

TREATIES OF ALLIANCE*

The last of the barbarian waves spilled over Europe in the thirteenth century. The Mongols burned Moscow down, destroyed the Kiev principality, and crossed Poland and Hungary, reaching the Dalmatian coast in 1241. Following the death of the Khan Ogatai, they retreated, although victorious, in 1242, East of the Carpathian Alps, taking with them thousands of captives and considerable booty. From that historical moment on, a common policy, albeit not deliberately planned, was to guide the countries of Central Europe at first, and, in the next century, the Russians grouped around the principality of Moscow to drive back the invaders toward the East and the South. Nevertheless, more than five centuries would be needed to evict this power whose last vestiges--the Tarter Khans of Crimea--would finally be vanquished by Catherine II and the peninsula annexed to the Russian empire.

THE PRINCIPALITIES

The retreat of the Mongols permitted the formation of new political units in the ethnic area of Romania, Moldavia and Wallachia, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. West of the Carpathians, Transylvania was part of the kingdom of Charles d'Anjou. Hungarians and Romanians fought the Turks, and Ion Corvin stopped their advance at Belgrade in 1456, until the year 1526 when the Hungarian kingdom was destroyed and Transylvania became one of the principalities under Turkish vassalage. South of the Carpathians Wallachia, and to the East Moldavia, opposed the Turks and were able to safeguard their internal autonomy though they were forced to abandon independence in their foreign politics in 1711. Thus the day when the Ottoman empire would be overthrown, in the nineteenth century, Romania would be born of the union of the two Principalities. From the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Angevine dynasty, at the time reigning in Hungary, undertook with the help of the Wallachian and Moldavian princes a series of campaigns east of the Carpathians. In 1328, the Wallachian prince, Bassarab, helped by the Magyar king, reached as far as the mouth of the Dniester and incorporated the southern part of today's Bessarabia into his principality. A few years later the principality of Bessarabia took in the whole of the territories between the Carpathians and the Dniester with the exception of the South, which was part of Wallachia. At the close of the century, the Tartars would be driven to the East of the Dniester and the population of the South and East side of the Carpathians would become subjected to autochthonous

* *Chapter 2 from ASPECTS DES RELATIONS RUSSO-ROUMAINES - Retrospective et Orientations. Paris, Minard, 1967.

princes. Following the conquests of the Prince (Kniaz) Donskoi in 1380, the principality of Moscow became free of the Tartar empire at the same time that the strengthened kingdom of Poland conquered important territories from the Tartars.

Until that time, because of their remoteness, no concerted action had ever been undertaken by the Romanian princes and the prince of Moscow. It is the kingdom of Poland which, through its expansive moves toward the South and the East, gave occasion for an alliance between Moldavia and the Moscow princes. Indeed, the king of Poland had received help under the form of men and money from the Moldavian prince against the Teutons. He had in turn guaranteed the borders of Moldavia, the South as far as the Danube and the Black Sea as well as the East--the Dniester and especially to the North--today's Bukovina and the fortresses of Hotin and Tetian (to the West of the modern town of Cernauti). Taking advantage of the fact that all during the fifteenth century the Moldavians had to fight the Turks who had reached the mouth of the Danube and made frequent incursions across it, the Poles invaded Moldavia several times. A similar policy of territorial conquests conducted the Polish and Lithuanian armies against Moscow in 1490, causing the formation of an alliance between the Moldavian prince Stephan the Great and the Muscovite prince, Ivan III, against Poland. This political alliance was followed by a family one, which united the son of the Moscow Prince (Kniaz) to the daughter of the Moldavian ruler. During all of the sixteenth century, even though there were no new documents reestablishing the alliance between Moscow and Moldavia, the two states had to confront the same enemies: Poles and Lithuanians to the North of the Carpathians, between the Dniester and the Dnieper; Tartars and Turks from the Danube to the Crimean peninsula.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The continuous fights which lasted all of the fifteenth century resulted in the establishment of Turkish suzerainity over the two principalities. In the next century, the Turkish empire reached its apogee, stretching from Persia to the gates of Vienna and from the Crimean peninsula to the Indian Ocean and the southern shores of the Mediterranean. From an administrative point of view, the empire was divided in territories directly governed by the Turks and in vassal states. Thus the Khans of Crimea, the princes of Moldavia, of Wallachia and of Transylvania and in the nineteenth century the viceroy of Egypt, were all vassals of the Sublime Porte. In contrast, Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Hungary, the Wallachian territory of Dobrogea, and starting in the sixteenth century, the southeastern end of Moldavia (the south of today's Bessarabia) were directly administered by the Turks, although none of these regions had ever been considered Turkish from an ethnic point of view. In contrast with the territories administered by the Porte, the vassal states could avail themselves of a large internal autonomy, their own princes and their inherited rights, and quite often conducted their foreign politics opposed to the Turkish interests.

Turkey was satisfied to occupy the strip along the West and North of the Black Sea which insured for it communication with its Tartar vassals and allowed it to control the traffic in the ports which furnished the empire with cereals and cattle. The hinterland,

comprising Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania, had proved difficult to conquer and its occupation did not offer any great interest, since the local products had no other outlet but the towns on the seashore or the ports on the Danube all under Turkish rule since the fall of Hungary. The Turks had conquered as early as 1484 the commercial towns of Chilia, situated on the Danube, and Cetatea Alba, at the mouth of the Dniester, which were in position to control the commercial traffic between the Orient, Transylvania and Poland. The region in which these towns are found as well as the surrounding territories (lost a few years later, in 1538) constituted the South of today's Bessarabia. Its reconquest would be the core of the Moldavian foreign politics for the next two centuries. Even though in time these towns lost their economic importance--the Black Sea being under the control of the Turks--the Moldavian claims continued, proof of the impossibility of accepting the alienation of a territory which was part of the Romanian ethnic area. During the sixteenth century, on their own, and in the seventeenth century with the aid of the Russians, the Moldavian princes repeatedly attempted to regain this territory. Starting in 1485, Stephen the Great and his successors in 1540, 1561, 1574 and 1595 vainly tried to reoccupy the fortresses, "because I don't think of anything but establishing the Danube as the border of my country, Moldavia, and to wage war at all times against the Turks, accursed infidels. And I have good hopes in the grace of God...and in you, brave men of a warlike nation, descendants of the courageous Romans...", as the Moldavian prince Jacob Heraklit expressed himself in 1561.

A new force manifested itself in the wars of the sixteenth century: the Ukrainian Cossacks, opposed to the Tartars as well as to the Turks and the Poles, and the allies of the Moldavians on numerous occasions. The common interests existing between the Russians and the Romanians manifested themselves toward the end of the sixteenth century. The prince of Wallachia, Michael the Brave, succeeded in 1600 in reuniting the three principalities, Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia, reestablishing for the first time in thirteen centuries the political unity of Romania. Having crushed the Turks, he recovered the fortresses of Chilia and Cetatea Alba (in the south of Bessarabia). At the time when he had planned to undertake with the help of the House of Austria a campaign which would force the Turks out of the Balkans, he found himself under attack from the Poles. In order to prevent this, a special embassy had been sent to Moscow in 1597, to Boris Goudounov who was in the process of preparing an attack on the Poles. Following the first successes of Michael the Brave, new negotiations were started between the representatives of the Prince and the Tsar before the House of Habsbourg in Prague in 1599. These contacts remained without any further developments because Michael the Brave's luck changed and he was murdered by his allies, the Imperials. Having invaded Moldavia, the Poles made an attack on Moscow where upon the death of Boris Goudounov, they installed Tsar Dimitri. The Polish victories did not last too long. An insurrection deposed Tsar Dimitri in 1613, and a Turkish victory put an end to the Polish influence in Moldavia in 1620.

In 1648, it was the Ukraine's turn to revolt against the Polish domination. The Cossack hetman Bogdan Hmelnitsky made an alliance with Moldavia, and his son married the daughter of the Moldavian prince. It seemed, though, that he had entertained larger projects, aiming to form a coalition with the Russians, Romanians and Ukrainians in order to

liberate the Serbians, Greeks and Bulgarians. An embassy had even been sent to the prince of Wallachia, as early as 1650, to sound him out on the subject. It was with the Tsar, suzerain of the Cossack hetman, that Moldavia concluded in 1656 a secret treaty against the Turks, aiming to conquer the territories in the South. This treaty provided for the following: "the regions, territories and fortified places which the Turks had detached from Moldavia, such as Cetatea Alba, Chilia, Tighina and the province of Bugeac (name given to South-East Moldavia), would be taken back by the Great Prince (the tsar) by the force of arms and would be given back to the Moldavian principality "jure haereditario". At the same time, an insurrection of the Christians from the Balkans was engineered and toward this end were sent Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian emissaries south of the Danube from the Moldavian prince. The war with Sweden did not permit the Russians to undertake this campaign against the Turks and there would be no action of any size in this quarter until the end of the century. In the meantime, the Moldavians again formed an alliance with the Cossack aiming to attack the Bugeac (1683). In a letter exhorting their companions in arms to join them in this enterprise, the Moldavian leaders voiced their views thus: "We shall land on the Bugeac. You also, therefore, do not delay and mount your horses together with those of your men which are at your disposition and come to us so that we may destroy the infidel and ransom our land from which the heathen have driven us ... Tighina and the Bugeac...".

PETER THE GREAT AND PRINCE CANTEMIR

In 1685, a coalition brought together Venice, the empire of the Habsbourgs, Poland and Russia against Turkey. In 1696, Peter the Great beat the Tartars of the Crimea--vassals of the Turks--and arrived at the Sea of Azov. Fifteen years later, he entered into an alliance with the Moldavian prince Dimitrie Cantemir and undertook a new war against the Turks. The treaty of alliance signed on the 3/13 of April 1711, in Luck, Volhynia, again made provision for the return to Moldavia of the towns and territories of the South: "the borders of Moldavia, according to her ancient rights, are those formed by the Dniester (Kamenets, Bender and the Bugeac territory), the Danube, Wallachia, Transylvania and Poland, as the settlement of these borders has it." The proclamation of the tsar at the time of his entrance into the war, made great case for the Greeks, the Romanians, the Bulgarians and the Serbians who were bowed under the yoke of the barbarian Turks, from which he intended to free them. The campaign ended with the Russo-Moldavians being defeated. The tsar was forced to give back the fortress of Azov and prince Cantemir took refuge in Russia where he died twelve years later, his death being followed closely by that of Peter the Great (1725).

This alliance ended an era of more than four centuries, during which Russia took shape as a result of the wars against her adversaries: The Tartars were later aided by the Turks in the South, and by the Teutons, Poles and Lithuanians to the West. As it was, the Turko-Tartars as well as the Poles had constantly endangered the existence of the Romanian people, the Moldavian province having to fight unceasingly on two fronts in order to maintain its independence. The distance between Moscow and Moldavia had always been too great for any action to be undertaken jointly by the Romanians and the Russians. However the alliances that these two nations entered into several times are witnesses of the similarity of their political conceptions in the area

of the defense of the Christian faith against the Turks and the Tartars as well as their social institutions and the orthodox religion against the kingdom of Poland.

During all this period of time cultural exchanges between Moldavia and the Ukraine or Russia constantly took place. The Russian civilization not having yet acquired a definite character and Kiev as well as Moscow availing themselves more of their Byzantine heritage than of their own creations, the influence of Constantinople played a determining role and quite often passed through Moldavia. This fact furnished us with the reasons for several phenomena: the Romanian Petre Movila was metropolitan in Kiev, the Moldavian boyar Nicholas Milescu served as ambassador of the tsar at the court of China, and Antioch Cantemir, son of the Moldavian prince, won a certain amount of importance in the Russian literature then being born. The death of Peter the Great, the founder of modern Russia, marks the end of an era of alliances between Moldavia and Russia and constitutes also a decisive turn in Russian foreign politics. Ever since, having attained political unity, the Russians as well as the Ukrainians fought to clear their ethnic area of foreign influences. When he thought himself able to vanquish the Turks and liberate the Christians of the Balkans, Peter the Great was at all times aware of the possible limits of his empire. This is the reason he expressly recognized the Dniester as the border of Moldavia, denying himself thus any thought of conquest of the peoples whom he intended to free. Peter the Great's successors, tsars or commissaries, have frequently made reference to his political concepts in order to justify their actions. There was discussion of a "political testament of Peter the Great" in this context of justification, which however has never been proved to exist.

The tsar was mainly looking for free access to an open sea, the polar ice caps blocking the White Sea for most of the year. The aim of this move was not to conquer the Straits of Kattegat or Constantinople, but only to weaken Sweden and the Ottoman empire to the point where they would be unable to keep the Russian ships from going as far as the North Sea or the Mediterranean. The liberation of the nations oppressed by the Turks would thus allow for the creation of independent states in the proximity of Constantinople. These states would protect the Russian borders from foreign attacks and would at the same time force the Turks to respect the liberty of navigation in the Straits. Of course, access to the open seas did not constitute an end in itself, but solely one of the better means to further the development of Russia. For this reason, Peter the Great fought with great stubbornness to carve for himself a passage toward the Mediterranean Sea, but took good care not to sacrifice thoughtlessly his resources of men and arms when the price of the victory appeared too high.

Indeed, following the defeat, in fact quite limited--38,000 Russians and 17,000 Moldavians beaten by 119,000 Turks--in 1711, we notice that the conqueror of Poltava resigns himself to the loss and abandons the war against the Ottoman empire. If the aims of the Russian policies had been the capture of Constantinople and the unification of the Slavic world, the episode of 1711 could not have stopped the growing force of the Russian empire.

Taking care not to exhaust his people in endless wars, the tsar used the last fourteen years of his life, to organize and modernize his empire. We shall see how the majority of his successors abandoned his constructive internal projects and attributed to him their expansionist goals in foreign politics. This tradition is so well established in the Russian diplomacy that even today, though mines, bombs and rockets block the Constantinople Strait, the trend in Russian politics has continued, the hankering after Constantinople, which has earned for the Russians quite a few enemies.

Gwen Kirkpatrick:

ELEMENTAL IMAGERY IN THE POETRY OF TUDOR ARGHEZI

The poetry of the Romanian Tudor Arghezi has appealed to many writers from other cultures. His work has been translated into more than twenty-three languages, but only recently has a substantial selection of poems been available in English.[1] Arghezi was dedicated to widening the horizons of Romanian literature and to this end he advocated extensive translation programs. His career spanned a wide range of occupations which enlarged the scope of his poetic vision. He was a monk, jeweler, printer, journalist, novelist, and later for his political activities, he was a prisoner.

Pierra Reverdy has said, "A poet is a furnace in which to burn reality." and "The poet is essentially a man who aspires to the domain of the real." These statements are appropriate in the case of Arghezi; the abstract is made concrete. The process of creation of poetry is described in concrete terms as in the poem, "Flowers of Mildew".

I wrote them with my nails on the plaster
On a wall of empty cracks
In the dark, in my solitude
Unaided by bull lion vulture
Of Luke Mark and John,
Verses for all seasons,
Verses of the pit
Of thirst for water
And of hunger for ashes,
Verses of today." (77)

Throughout Arghezi's work the concreteness of his poetic world is reflected in the central importance assigned to nouns. The substantive nature of his language focuses on the elemental. The mixture of the profane and the religious, the animal and the human, shows a will to confront the world in its immediacy. He does not establish a clear pattern of allegory, a scale of meaning according to a grid of referents, like that of the Great Chain of Being. Arghezi subverts the coherence of the physical world by dislocating hierarchies and by using ironic allegory. He allows for discontinuity and distorts familiar patterns of perception by inversion and unexpected juxtaposition. He suggests a greater pattern of meaning by presenting fragments of redeeming moments, often presented in terms of the absurd. The acceptance of the miraculous and the impossible re-establishes an order which can only be seen in broken pieces. Confronted with these conversions and variants of a larger pattern, one can establish certain constants in the metaphor-making process of Arghezi's poetry.

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[1]Michael Impey and Brain Swann, trans., Selected Poems of Tudor Arghezi, The Lockert Library of Poetry in Translation (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976). Subsequent references to specific poems will refer to page numbers in this volume.

Arghezi transposes qualities from antithetical categories, sometimes by contrast, sometimes by use of metonymy. Some of the essential antithetical categories are song-silence, memory-time, animal-human, water-desert. Opposites are often united with overt explanation. Phenomenal reality often does not control nature references. Thus follows the emphasis on the creation of poetry as an alternate reality, although always a crippled one, and the portrait of the poet as rebel, magician, craftsman, trying to re-create wholeness. The Promethean voice emerges, always to be circumscribed by limitations. Song is an attempt to defeat time and memory.

The pain of the estrangement from an organic wholeness is expressed in images of physical sterility. In "Psalm 3", there is a complaint to an unseeing God, with a lament and a petition.

Greatly alone, Lord, and confused.
Fugitive tree forgotten on low land.
Bitter fruit and foliage
Thorny and harsh in resistance.

* * *

To flower with holy fruits only,
Bear only metal fruits, impressed
By severe commands and injunctions,
Is enough perhaps, Lord, for me.

You have left me alone to attain my end.
I torment myself at the root, and I bleed.
From time to time, as mark of your distance,
Send, Lord a small angel, new fledged,
To flap round the moon with his white wings
Bringing to me your words, once more. (53)

The conflict between reconciling a religious view of nature and a sense of alienation and sterility is presented in organic terms, that of a tree bearing only metal fruits, bleeding at the roots. The petition for deliverance is to be answered with words, the creation of fruitfulness. This petition for words is not a flight into a dream mystique. Concrete images constantly confront us with images of physical pain. Physical as well as aesthetic concerns are combined, and redemption, through the rearranging of the world into a coherent pattern, is to be achieved only by chance insights, like gifts or feats of the magician. In "Work", a list of ills and remedies of the gypsy king, he points out the arbitrariness of the cure.

Misfortune strikes you,
Dampens your spirits.
An ace turns up at cards,
Shields you from death.
And when you want
To snatch someone's soul
For the devil
You use the whole zodiac.

So there you are, that's what gives you class:
An emerald and two rubies. (113)

Creation is a means of resistance, the creation of an alternate reality, like the rite of an angel or the magic spell of a sorcerer. The making of verses is like ensuring a communal dream's duration.

Take care then to make our dream grow fourfold.
Make it a beginning, every finger on the string.
Make its trivet body's burning ivory
With memories of marble and beehive smells.

* * *

Let your love be like a rite
So the soul may emerge from prayer rejuvenate.

("Verses", 69)

The religious approximation to nature does not remain constant. Through inversions, ellipses, and unanchored images, nature appears as confusing:

The needle tries to begin the flower
But turns back and pricks me.
I try to select and sew
But everything comes out back to front. (37)

Yet the elemental signs are always present. Mixing religions with prosaic language, Arghezi creates an amalgalm of more earthly possibilities. Music, or song, is the privileged alternative. In "Psalm 1", the musical instruments are to strike discordant notes.

Any lute can speak if I press it
With my bow, pluck its strings.
A nervous heavenly passion
Makes arm twitch, soul burn.

* * *

Why and for whom, Father, should I make
The happy sound of struck bronze?
I don't earn my bread singing your praises,
And I don't want my dish enveloped in stars. (47)

In many poems, the arbitrary nature of the concrete world parallels the technical, artistic creation of the poetic universe. The poet tries to subvert reality as a debased Promethean figure, trickster, magician, or criminal. The artist is part technician in his relationship with physical things. There are references to the jeweler, blacksmith, weaver, musician, and painter, sometimes presented within a narrative framework, sometimes by a series of unconnected images. These multiple roles and voices show the poet as dramatically self-aware. He questions man's power over his surroundings. Are men artisans or merely passive receivers? In "Testament" the transformations of language are similar to the operations of an alchemist. The poet transmutes the language of his people, and their suffering and wrath, into new forms.

From their tongue used to call the heards
I've brought forth fitting words.

* * *'

From boils, mildew and dirt
I've brought forth new beauties and measures.
The whip long-endured returns as words,
Redeems, slowly punishes
The offspring of everybody's crime.
It is the straightening of the dark branch,
Coming from the wood into light,
Bearing like a cluster of warts at its tip
The fruit of whole ages' suffering. (71, 73)

The simile in the last lines presents a new questioning. The broken and the ugly is to be made whole, like the straightening of the tree's branch into light, yet this wholeness is postulated only to be deflated by images of physical decay, "a cluster of warts."

The angel, a common symbol of purity and wholeness, is portrayed in "The Sick Angel" as physically vulnerable and suffering because time's passing has encroached on eternity.

His heart can no longer stand
The life of eternity, the ogive nest,
And little by little, for the first time,
He feels hideous in time's crumbling.
Unknown to him an earthly tumor
Has begun to sprout
On his white body. (9)

These images of physical decay and waste in the early poetry serve as questionings of the soul, but in later poems are converted into metaphors of a ravaged country and its maimed people.

Religious language constantly recurs in Arghezi's poetry, but the prosaic and the miraculous are juxtaposed, and the distant deity is personalized as in "Mute Song".

Last night God came to my neighbor's bedside
With crook, angels, and saints.
They burned with such fire
The whole hospital got
Warm as a hospital's saddle. (103)

In other poems, the Virgin Mary becomes the nurse at the door, bringing medicine on a spoon; the sun lies in an old hearth's basket; and the moon hangs from an ear. He personalizes and sometimes trivializes religious and mythological categories.

Time and memory emerge as terrifying forces; disjunction and decay cannot be stopped. In "Curses", the punishment most emphasized is the distortion of time.

But first let life, sickening with duration,
Not slacken for a moment,
And let the torment slowly start
To make dense air sting, like vinegar,
And maim day, boat with cracked ribs.
Let time delay swallowing the hour,
And let the immeasurable second
Hurl its giant wave through the soul:
On eternity's cutting edge may you be dissected
To cuds and frayed ends. (31)

The most terrifying image is that of stasis, to experience over and over again the sensation of aging and paralysis, while a mechanical instrument marks out time. Reminiscent of peoms of Baudelaire, the clock beats out the heart's pulse in "The Engraving", as a measure of loneliness.

The clock, rain behind,
Beating with heart's pulse,
Seconds dead in flocks
Tick endlessly by. (21)

And in "My Grief" the structures of time are given in terms of physical degradation.

I pity the weekday, it makes me sick.
The year's opaque and time's got fat.
The hour of finished past calls me,
But there's no room through ash and soot
To leave the present. (151)

In "The Sick Angel" the struggle with time is presented as a fight against the elements, a battle lost before it actually begins. While wishing for things to remain in an unviolated state - time is more precious when frozen into silence, copper gleams brighter untested - he remembers the cyclical vision of time of his ancestors in "A Prayer".

When we grazed the land with our flocks
And moved unhindered from place to place,
And never knew where our grave would be
And lived with the horizon always ahead of us
And rose with the sun
And feasted at the water's edge
And eternity followed like a wheel.

* * *

Ignorant of paper and ink
Our song rose up sung
While infinite life remained unspoiled
By canons documents frescoes. (59)

Looking back to a primordial time when life offered renewal, he compares it to the life "In towers and towns/Where time is marked with a beating."

The deliverance from decay is only partially accomplished by the creation of an alternate reality, that of words. Its hero is confused both as hero and as fugitive. In "Irresolution" the question is asked:

Am I to beat time's mire with closed eyes?
Shall dolts strip me of my cloak in the road,
Sneering, tavern drunk?

* * *

But the day that passes in its passing wounds
Humbles my staff and bends my lilies low. (15)

The topics of memory and time are intermingled with song and silence. These categories are combined by transposing qualities from one rank to another: song fights time, and memory wards off silence. Time and silence become physical presences.

Through the air, time's divided in hours
Like carnations, according to their scent.

Silence too has lost its voices
Which caused it to echo down time.
I hear only the rust of ancestral voices
Dissolving, coming apart. ("Archeology", 19)

Song is connected with properties of renewal, with rain, light, wholeness. It is a human rite and is often presented in aminated terms, often associated with eroticism. In "Morgenstimmung" song comes as liberation.

Your song has filled the whole building
The drawers boxes rugs
Like sonorous lavender.
Look
The bars have come loose
And the monastery lies open before me.

* * *

Why did you sing? Why did I hear you?
We have crumbled into completness
Cloudlike under the skies. (25)

This kind of inversion, "crumbling into completeness", is a constant in Arghezi's poetry. Restorations are achieved first by a shattering, and wholeness is known only by the sense of its loss. Absences are made more painful by the contrast of abundance, which is often shown by the listing of many nouns. In "Annunciation" a hidden thought of rain unravels the whole fabric of existence.

Toward evening I feel
Like an apricot-tree shaken about,
Seized at its roots,

By a surge of sap.
And sometimes I'm like a bough
Which bends alone,
Which is racked alone,
Which weeps and sings alone,
Which cringes alone
Like a paper bird
At a hidden thought of rain. (37, 39)

The physical realm is beyond our control, and in a poem directed to his daughter, similar in theme to William Butler Yeats' "A Prayer for My Daughter", there is a repertory of devices by which he would protect his daughter, would re-create her out of jewels and flowers to shield her from poison. Yet there is no remedy, for his wishes offer no actual protection.

But why stand thinking?
Much better be as you are,
Pricking and crushing yourself
Among earthly harvests. ("Typhoid", 43)

The rift between potential wholeness and the debasement of the present is also presented by the deflation of religious figures and rites. In the volume, Flowers of Mildew, the dramatic element is strong, rather than the contemplative element, and the unity of one poetic voice is separated into many. The mystic nature of religious life is compared to the stark reality of prison existence. Often a colloquial voice speaks with crudeness and violence. In a series of portraits of prisoners, anger is expressed side by side with the deflation of religious ideals. The framing voice is not continuous, for the purely physical does not allow for explicit metaphysical meditations. We can see the relationship between the social order and the natural environment. Human attributes are often given in animalistic terms. Actions and descriptions are given without explicit synthesis. The arbitrariness of nature and society is reflected in the contrast of widely disparate elements, and the staccato patterns of the verse reinforce the cutting edge, as in "Gadfly".

I want to drink blood and
Tear everything to tatters
Like a snake, a wolf.

When the key's thrust in the door
You'd think a woman was grinding her teeth
Pierced, disheveled,
Tireless.

Now in the moon
Couples come together.
God Almighty! A hand feels,
The body bends, clings, yields.
Moaning wavers, drowning follows,
Limbs convulse, heavy
As a bunch of grapes with anguish,
Cluster against cluster,
Grape against grape.

Iron bars hang across the door.
The guard calls out numbers.
No miracles happen here.

In his prime, Peter Marin
From Mount Ceahlău,
Still here.
Ten years to serve. (85,87)

The sensual rite is deflated, shocked still. By omitting the casual connection in the narration, the contrast of prison and erotic fulfillment is made clear.

In Flowers of Mildew, the humans are named, they are not Everyman, and their physicality is detailed, right down to twisted flesh, stinking corpses, and lice in their hair. This volume includes two beautiful erotic portraits, "Rada" and "Tinca", with their sensuality dazzling in terms of flowers, fruit, sun, dance, and scent. The nature of song and time are changed in this volume, and a deceptively simple re-counting of songs and hours in "Serenade" becomes a twisted recital of canonical hours.

At the stroke of one (frogs) gulp down
The squeaking crocks.
Crows in trees snap.
The star falls, gunfire,
Saws and planes
Grind at rainbows.
About three,
Tiny lice show up;
About five,
Bedbugs in sandals.
About six a.m.
A rat sniffs you over.
If your tonsils show red
The doctor comes at eight.
Cold dark, cold wall.
Another fourteen dead (101)

In the later poetry of Arghezi, the preoccupations with song, time and the physical world remain strong, but the focus shifts. The emphasis on detail distorts familiar perceptions. For example, in "Ladybug", this humble creature is seen as God's magnificent creation which "half-drowns itself in the window's boundless blue", and "Thinks the moon is poised on the deep horizon to eat it up." (139) In "Sick Song" God fills glasses with heavenly brandy and a sliver of grace, and the moon at night always brings salve. The miraculous is brought down to earth. Grace is embodied in potatoes, ready to give birth.

Listen, grace seized them, godlike,
Virginal, innocent spinsters.
The power that deigns
To probe its holy instruments
Deep as the tubers
And cast spells on potatoes' warm warts
As though they were diamonds. ("Grace" 137)

The focus changes from a tableau presentation to greater emphasis on detail.

In the poetry of Tudor Arghezi, the figurative sense is drawn from physical phenomena. There is no cushioning between object and observer. The spiritual is combined with the physical. The vitality of peasant language is fused with metaphysical questioning. This concrete poetic universe is created from the poet's defiant relationship with nature. By displacements, mixtures of metaphor, and deflationary techniques, what seems to be a transcendent scheme of nature references is brought down to earth, is forced to confront and wrangle with a world charged with violence. Arghezi has recreated a mythic and personal passage in elemental terms, transforming a multitude of traditions. He has produced a miraculous, and at the same time, very elemental poetic universe. Opposites are never resolved, only redeemed by poetic grace,

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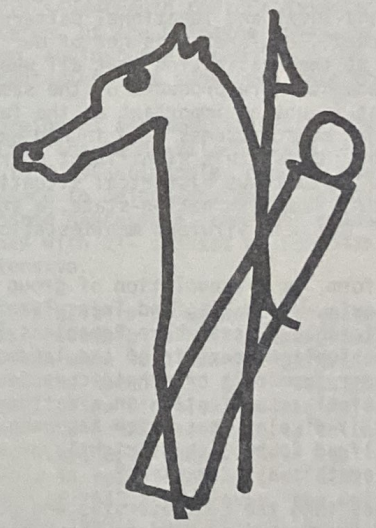


Gerald J. Bobango:

PRECONDITIONS FOR NATIONHOOD IN THE ROMANIAN LANDS

If the term nation simply means "a people", as Frederick Hertz suggests,[1] then Romanians have constituted a nation since at least the thirteenth century. Moreover, this people of the Carpatho-Danubian region has possessed an ethnic consciousness even longer, if by that nebulous usage we understand a sense of distinct identity as a group bound together by the criteria of language, folk customs and mores, and agreement on a common descent from the same set of real or figurative ancestors. A country, after all, is not only an inherited territory, but a spiritual tradition.[2] And for Romanians far more than for some men, a sense of self, a feeling of "we-ness", is observable certainly by the late Middle Ages. By modern times such a self-perception was at the root of a cultural and philosophical Weltenschauung soon to be translated into a true national consciousness, a metamorphosis reaching fruition only in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The thrust of the Romanian experience over this long span, then, was in expanding an ethnic consciousness centered on one's family and immediate kinship group at the village level into an awareness of a more or less well-defined community of like people existing on a regional--or even larger--scale. Over long decades came the sense of a natural brotherhood based on a kind of inexplicable familiarity with certain others who shared similar obscure, deep-seated habits and everyday reactions. The natural result was the conclusion that those who did not share in this set of behavioral and ideational patterns were not part of "we", but members of "they", or foreigners not of our kind. Just precisely when Romanians arrived at the realization that all who spoke the same words and thought the same thoughts were products of the same civilizing culture and shared a common past is not as important as the fact that this larger awareness, this "national consciousness" did indeed exist by early modern times.[3] Finally, by the 1860's, this significant degree of national consciousness, alongside a fortuitious historical situation, to be sure, allowed the emergence of a Romanian nation-state, a state destined eventually to embody one of the most virulent manifestations of Balkan nationalism of our century.

Such, in capsule form, is the evolution of group mentality in the principalities of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania, to name only the three most readily noticeable places where Romanians live. The following essay is an attempt to highlight certain of the landmarks on the Romanians' long path to nationhood: from folk or ethnic consciousness, to national consciousness, to political actualization in a nation-state. Lest it be argued that we can hardly display that which has been so vaguely defined we must answer, with Alfred Cobban, that "rightly or wrongly, historians and scientists are doing this all the time"[4]

To insert ourselves into the controversies and polemics as to the origins and continuity of the Romanians between the 3rd and 13th centuries will avail us nothing. Romanian scholars continue to produce works almost monthly attesting to the antiquity of their race on the native soil.[5] More vital is the fact that Romanians for at least the past 300 years have believed themselves to be the direct descendants of Roman colonists sent into conquered Dacia by the emperor Trajan, who intermarried with the native Dacians and continued to live in the Carpathian region after the withdrawal of the Roman legions in the 3rd century. Whether this is absolute historic truth is beside the point. Romanians believe it to be so. And history is made not necessarily by what is actually true or false, but by what men perceive to be true.

The unique obscurity of Romanian history is re-emphasized when we examine the foundations of the medieval states, usually encompassed in the rather arbitrary dates of 1290 for Wallachia and 1349 for Moldavia. Seton-Watson's point is well-taken when he reminds us "that we are reduced to the merest speculation and conjecture with regard to the contemporaries of Henry III of England and St. Louis of France."[6] Still, something of life this early may be sketched, a way of life already bound by village custom and feudal usages acting as a check on the powers of the Domni, or princes. "The establishment of the principalities. . . did not, at first, lead to any change in the old, patriarchal society,"[7] which had evolved over many generations in Romanian villages; title to the land remained vested in the rural communities and the majority of peasants existed as free mosneni or yeomen, coexisting with smaller numbers of large landholding boiars. So long as native princes continued to rule, until the seventeenth century, this relatively stable system prevailed.

It was natural that in later times, then, especially after the Turkish conquest, such an epoch would be looked back upon as that desirable "golden age' before the usurpation of "ancient peasant rights" by a combination of foreign princes and rapacious boiars in league with the nation's oppressors. By the time Mihai Viteazul achieved his brief unification of the three Romanian lands in 1600, however, and the era which Iorga labels the "age of the heroes" was quickly fading, the peasantry was being reduced to a state of subservience.

Now in the early seventeenth century Romanians spoke of the great medieval monarch Stefan, of the betrayed Mihai, of powerful native princes leading free mosneni against their enemies. The experiences of the provinces' first two centuries thus sank deep into the popular mind.

Even though foreigners and Romanians alike by the mid-1600's came to accept the notion that the Moldo-Valachs were simply another subject of the Sublime master in Constantinopole, popular awareness of a shared inheritance, a resistance to being considered assimilated into the Turkish fold, a sense of shared oppression, remained evident. Travelers reported it from conversations with all classes of Romanian society, and the literature here is extensive.

Not only have the writers in western languages on Romania been numerous, so that it is "possible to paint a panorama that begins in the 16th century," but even when we allow for partisan observers and those not so sympathetic to the Romanians, their testimony supports essentially the same theme. The Italian Niccolo Barsi in Moldavia in 1633 recounts how he was told that "the Romans sent people to the area in exile, and later they wished to stay, and changed their Italian language and composed another."[8] This is reaffirmed by the Catholic priest Petru Bogdan Baksic on his journey of 1648.[9] Moreover, the well-known Conrad Jacob Hiltebrandt in the late 1650's comments on the "Blochs" (Valachs) in Transylvania who "speak Romanian. . . according to their origin, for they are the famed border guards of the noble Roman people."[10] At the same time Robert Bargrave provides a detailed account of Romanian life, politics, customs, and peoples, an undertaking which ipso facto suggests he saw his subjects as a distinct and identifiable entity.[11] Travelers throughout the following century continued to attest to this Romanian consciousness of language and insistence on their descent from the Romanianized Dacians.[12]

Another element in the spectrum of determinants of folk consciousness remains to be assayed: the Romanian Church. The important 19th century bishop of Transylvania, Andreiu Saguna, believed "that the church had been the chief instrument of (the Romanians') survival as a separate nationality during the preceding 400 years, and that the fact of the one was linked to that of the other as the soul to the body."[13] Saguna had his own motives for such pious injunctions, but it is hard to accept the truth of his avowal.

Even in 1648 Paksic reports on the illiteracy of the Romanian monks and priests, who "read the services in the Slavonic language. . . but know nothing of what they read."[14] Seven years later in a popular uprising the soldiers and peasants struck not only at the nobles but attacked churches as well.[15] Many would argue that Slavonic as the liturgical language acted as "an absolute hindrance to Roumanian literary development",[16] at least through the early 17th century. Then, however, the growing influence of Greek supplanted the ancient Slav tongue and by the start of the Phanariote century in 1714 Greek influence permeated the Romanian church, as it dominated the choice of princes and controlled commercial life. And the mass of the clergy knew even less of Greek than of Slavonic. Despite the appearance of some legal codes in Romanian by 1640, there would be no Bible in Romanian until 1688, and church services in the vernacular tongue would largely await the 19th century.

It is well-known that the alienation of sizeable amounts of lands and revenues possessed by the Catholic Church in the western monarchies represented forces to be reckoned with during the formative period of national monarchies. How much more onerous was the situation on the Danube and the Pruth where the practice of dedicating monasteries to the Holy Places of the East--Athos, Sinai, Jerusalem--had begun in the late 16th century, and continued apace until the bulk of the Romanian monastic establishments passed into the hands of alien monks who diverted their revenues abroad. By the 1820's such Dedicated Convents accounted for roughly one-fourth and one-third of the total land area of Moldavia and Wallachia respectively. Not until 1867 would this vexatious question be close to a settlement.

Finally there is the difficult question of whether, in spite of the foreignness of the Romanian Church, the common people derived from it reinforcement for their own ethnic identity--was Orthodoxy itself synonymous with Romanianness to the extent that, let us say, Irishness was with being Catholic? In the absence of detailed research on what is perhaps an insoluble problem, only certain tentative remarks may be ventured.

"Peasants are not spiritual creatures," wrote D.J. Hall after living in a number of Romanian villages, wearing their clothing, eating their food, sharing their work, attending their weddings and funerals and sharing their simple pleasures, their joys and sorrows.[17] While his friend might observe the formalities of the church, their wants were practical; they did not hanker after spiritual perfection, at least not in the abstract manner found in Orthodox theology, of which they knew little. The myths linking the old gods with the sun and rain which caused their crops to grow and give them life were deep-stirring, potent. The church moved them with its spectacle, but did not touch their humble view of life: their ancient, pagan superstitions, though, were something they could understand. A commentary from the 16th century? No, Hall was reporting

on his experiences during the early 1930's. Certainly one witness is insufficient to convince us of what is implied here, if we did not know that a vast body of literature exists as to the fundamental paganism still lying at the base of Balkan peoples' religiosity. James Noyes observed in 1857 that, "aside from devotion, pilgrimages are to the peasantry what travelling and frequenting the great watering places are to the nobility and rich burghers."[18] He went on to characterize the priesthood, whose typical member is "dintinguishable from the meanest peasant only by his long beard, tchako, and boots."[19] The holy fathers constantly sought occasion to sit at the tables of others, so that a favorite proverb in the East was "Am I a priest, that I should eat and drink twice as much as another person?"[20] Noyes observed of the Greek convents: "As the Wallachs are the most dissolute people in the world, many Magdalenes doubtless find their way into these institutions."[21]

Keith Hitchins points out that in 19th century Transylvania, intellectuals "shunned the priesthood, where learning and religious observances were conducted with great attention to form but with little concern for the actual needs or desires of the faithful. . ."[22]

Finally William Wilkinson in 1820 refers to the corruption in the Romanian lands of "even the most precise doctrines of the Christian religion. . . by the misconceptions or selfish views of low-bred and ignorant priests, a set of men, indeed, who have here made themselves a manifest disgrace to the sanctity of the Christian name."[23] Perhaps, as Saguna insisted, "the ritual and practices of Rumanian orthodoxy were peculiar expressions of the Rumanian soul," upon whose strength and vitality the spiritual and intellectual progress of the nation would ultimately depend.[24] Many thought otherwise.

Difficult as it is to reconstruct the inner lives and dispositions of peasants, who leave few written records, diaries, or memoranda, yet for Americans who witnessed nearly 100,000 Romanian peasants migrate to this country between 1897 and 1970, the opportunity of studying peasant folk at first hand has been ample. To expound on the role of the Orthodox Church in America and the strength of the immigrant's identification with it is beyond the scope of this study. Yet inescapable is the impression that for vast numbers of Romanians an attitude of indifference to theo-' logy and religious observances and a lack of strong identification with Orthodoxy has been a prevailing theme.[25] It is time to move on and conclude, then, that while Romanian ethnic consciousness was clearly a visible phenomenon by the time that centralized feudal states reached their maturity, its carriers and promoters were, with certain notable exceptions, secular rather than priestly forces. And by the 17th century Romanian culture was being expanded and given a broader national character by the court chroniclers of the ruling princes, and the cultural monopoly of that literate portion of the native higher clergy which did exist now took second place to a growing lay intelligentsia.

In Moldavia the first manifestations of this larger national consciousness were found in the historical writings of Court Marshal Grigore Ureche with his Chronicle of the Land of Moldavia. Carrying his story to 1594, and strongly favoring the boiar class, Ureche was the first to speak of the Roman origin of the Romanian people, "adducing as proof the Latin origin of most of the words in the Romanian language."[26]

High Chancellor Miron Costin (1632-1691) continued Ureche's work, completing the recital of Moldavia's history up to 1661, and in his About the Moldavian People, we have the first strong argument showing that Moldavian, Wallachian, and Transylvanian Romanians are "all people arising at the same time", thus establishing a Romanian historiographical theme continued to this day.

Wallachia's chronicles at this time were at first mere polemics favoring one or another princely family. But when High Steward Constantine Cantacuzino, who had studied at Padua University, produced his History of Wallachia, he placed his province on the level of the Moldavian chronicles. While the work remains unfinished, stopping with the arrival of the Huns in the Pannonian plain, its fundamental idea, that of the Roman origin and unity of the Romanians, is clear. Cantacuzino is the first to include the Dacians as a factor in the genesis of the Romanian people, and his book includes a valuable map of the country printed in Padua in 1700. Such works, then, not only provided some of the earliest continuous narratives of the continuity of Romanian experience in all three provinces, but helped to establish a literary Romanian language, one rapidly divorcing itself from Slavonic.

The Transylvanian Metropolit Simion Stefan is important in this connection. In the preface to his 1648 translation of the New Testament, he expresses his desire to find a language accessible to all who spoke Romanian, using a classic simile reminiscent of Luther's justification for the Sacheischerkanzleideutsch: "We all know," Stefan says, "that words must be like coins, and that those coins are good which travel to all countries and so are words good which are understood by all. We therefore sought, as far as we could, to write in such a way as to be understood by all."[27]

The work of such men, together with the foundations of higher education laid in the seventeenth century, served to bring humanism and rationalism to the Danubian region more fully, if belatedly, by the latter 1600's. A new orientation in Romanian letters began with the founding of the Saint Sava school in Bucharest by Constantine Brâncoveanu in 1695. Organized by a group of Teophil Corydaleu's disciples compelled to leave Constantinople, St. Sava would become one of the best educational establishments in Eastern Europe. Meanwhile, the Moldavian prince Vasile Lupu founded a Latin college in Iasi and the Kievan scholars who first staffed it were replaced by the end of the century with a galaxy of Greek savants, one of whom, Ieremia Cacavela, was the tutor of Dimitrie Cantemir. The more widespread use of the vernacular Romanian, expanding educational facilities, and a growing corpus of historical writings therefore served to elaborate an enlarging sense of Romanian identity, one which would be all the more necessary in light of the challenges to this people's national consciousness in the decades to come.

The dreary portrait of the 18th century in the Romanian lands has been drawn by numerous writers and to record it in any detail, is a tedentious and, perhaps, pointless task, if one is concerned only with political events. Periodic foreign invasions and occupations are the rule, the largely foreign princes did little but intrigue against one another, often paying for their ambition with their heads. Between 1714 and 1821 there

were forty-one changes on the throne in Wallachia; between 1711 and 1821 thirty-six in Moldavia. Of thirty-three reigning princes, all were drawn from some twelve families, eight of them entirely Greek, two only half Romanian, and the others Hellenized Romanians. The average duration of a reign in either principality was about two and one-half years. Only toward the end of the Phanariote era, with the penetration of French ideas, would there be relief from the story of assassination and humiliating subservience to the Porte. Yet in the realm of cultural development and the preservation and advancement of national consciousness among that segment of the population uninvolved in the contention for power in the Ottoman elite, certain exceptions to the Byzantinism stand out. One is the phenomenal life of Dimitrie Cantemir, the second the work of the so-called "Transylvanian School" among the Romanian brethren "peste munti".

Perhaps only Mihai Viteazul has inspired more esteem among his countrymen than did Prince Dimitrie Cantemir. While much of this adulation rests on his attempt in 1711 to free Moldavia from Ottoman rule, in the long run Cantemir's historical and literary contributions loom as perhaps more significant. He was the first to create a modern synthesis of the history of the Ottoman Empire, and it is with Cantemir that modern Romanian historical writing begins. His Historia Incrementorum Atque Decrementorum Aulae Othomanicae (1715-1716) is a wide-ranging study based on Turkish documentation and the author's own extended sojourn in the Ottoman capital. That the empire had entered its phase of decline, as the Historia argued, might not have been news to Europe, but the work itself was the first effort of its kind in any European language, was translated widely, and made its author an authority on Eastern problems.

In 1714 Cantemir became a member of the Berlin Academy, and at that body's request he wrote the Descriptio Moldaviae. Besides its details of the geography, social structure, institutions, ethnography, and culture of his country, Cantemir reiterated the need for eliminating Turkish rule. Finally there was the Chronicle of the Ancient Origin of the Romano-Moldo-Valachs, which represented a milestone in the assertion of Romanian beginning and self-awareness. While surely full of inaccurate details and partisan conclusions, and the exaggeration of Latinizing too many words, yet the Chronicle was based on much documentary research and displayed a critical faculty ahead of its time. Most importantly, it advanced the claim that the Romanians are of pure Roman blood and have held the Dacian lands since the days of Trajan. "As confidently as any chauvinist pamphleteer of the closing nineteenth century," Cantemir expounded the unity of the race and their uninterrupted descent,[28] although Seton-Watson errs when he says that this is the first occurrence of this theme.[29] Still Cantemir's very prominence as a respected scholar in the learned Europe of his day guaranteed a wider audience than ever before for Romanians and their already extravagant claims to distinct nationhood.

In Transylvania during this century of Phanar east of the mountains, the majority Romanian population struggled for recognition of an equal status with the Three Privileged Nations of Magyar, Saxon, and Szekler and an end to the inferiority of being a merely "tolerated" people. Even from the time of Charles VI the Romanians faced an energetic campaign of re-Catholicization of the province carried on from Vienna against the position of the Protestants in its domains. Thus for the sons of Trajan these were decades of legal pleas and petitions, memoranda to the Hofkanzlei, and the Gubernium, and complaints to the court. When such methods

failed to dent the armor of the "absolut kaiserliche Dominat" an occasional rebellion added to the agitation. While few if any Romanian leaders spoke openly of far-fetched goals such as independence or freedom to join their co-nationals across the Carpathians, the writings and maneuvers of a group of religious and lay leaders and intellectuals known collectively as the "Transylvanian School" served to keep alive the Romanians' sense of unity and acted as a rallying point against forced assimilation. In the first half of the 1700's ecclesiastical questions played a dominant role in affairs in Transylvania, while the second half saw the emphasis shift to social problems.

Many Romanian leaders adopted Uniatism after the mandated Union with Rome of 1699 as a political strategem, hoping thereby to curry favor with the Imperial Court and win concessions in other spheres. One outstanding cleric who saw himself as the representative of not only the Church but his whole Romanian nation was the Uniate Bishop Ioan Inocentiu Micu-Klein (1728-1751). A member of the Imperial Diet by 1733, Klein repeatedly set forth petitions for privileges for the Romanian population and its clergy, equality of status with priests of the Latin rite, the right to build their own churches and endow their own religious schools: in short, recognition of their faith as a "Received Religion" side by side with the other four in the province. Klein was treated by the Diet as ridiculous, was mocked and humiliated, and told, "There is no Wallach nation, there is only a Wallach plebs."[30] Maria Theresa's accession brought some minor reforms, but she could not, in the midst of her troubles with Prussia, afford to alienate Magyar opinion. Micu-Klein was summoned to Vienna to be stifled and by 1746 was in exile in Rome, his property at home confiscated by the state and his more pliable nephew named as his successor. Yet Petru Paul Aron also showed himself a dedicated worker for Romanian rights and, together with the work of Sofronie Miclescu who acquired an ascendancy among the Banat peasantry and reconverted many to Orthodoxy, his episcopate helped produce an Imperial Patent in November, 1762 which finally provided a separate organization for the Orthodox community in Transylvania.

Nowhere did the reforming zeal of Joseph II produce so great a ferment as in his backward domains of Transylvania. His introduction of "Concivilitat"or equality of citizenship for all inhabitants of the Konigsboden, his abolition of torture or flogging to extract confession, his partial emancipation of the serfs in 1783--all produced favorable reactions from the depressed Romanians. But the order for the introduction of military conscription, however, indirectly caused one of the greatest peasant rebellions of the age, the uprising led by Horia, Closca, and Crisan during 1784-1785. Without any clear-cut plan or ideology, the movement held little prospect of success, but 230 castles and manors were sacked and about 100 nobles murdered before repression succeeded. Basically this seems a movement against the landlords,a drive to eliminate feudal taxes and win land concessions. The tones of national consciousness ascribed by later Romanian writers are not obvious. Still Horia, who claimed to the end that he had the emperor's sanction behind him, did not shrink from calling himself "King of Dacia" and having struck a medal with the legend "Horia Rex Daciae 1784". With order restored, Joseph abolished serfdom in Transylvania in 1785, but this little helped to offset the previous suspension of the whole Transylvanian constitution so that deep dissatisfaction and passive resistance remained.

The closing years of the century saw a small Romanian bourgeoisie in the making and, along with an intellectual penetration of French ideas after 1789, and the waning of the reform thrust in Vienna, conditions mitigated towards a new stage of Romanian self-affirmation. In March, 1791, a general memorial bearing the inscription Supplex Libellus Valachorum was forwarded to the Habsburg court. Its authors, the two Romanian bishops Gerasim Adamovici and Ioan Bob, represented the Orthodox and Uniate communions respectively, and were assisted in the project by lay leaders and intellectuals such as Petru Maior and Gheorghe Sincai whose historical and philological writings for years had asserted the antiquity of the Romanians on the soil of Transylvania, their Latin origins and distinct nationhood. The document bore the signature of "the clergy, nobility, and laity of the whole Wallach nation in Transylvania." The Romanian people was an autochthonous nation and thus the oldest inhabitants of the region, claimed the Supplex, and it was the merest justice that, dispossessed of its former rights while constituting the most numerous element in the population, this people should be recognized as the fourth Privileged Nation of the country. Equal rights for clergy and laity of the two Romanian faiths, a proportionate share of official posts, and a reversion to the use of Romanian place-names in predominantly Romanian districts were thus in order. Finally, a National Congress was demanded which would discuss dramatic revisions of the humanitarian tendencies of the age. And so began the barren controversy over priority and continuity of tenure which continues still between Romanian and Magyar savants. Leopold II received the document sympathetically, and then stood by while the Diet rejected its claims absolutely. The committees appointed to work out the details of minor reforms slowly withered and died amidst the general European crisis of the decade.

Baron Camphausen's widely read travel notes on Eastern Europe in 1808 reinforce our knowledge of the state of affairs in the Romanian lands. "In general there are few countries in which the situation of the peasant is more calamitous," he noted.[31] "There are no libraries here, and no books of any kind, with the exception of a few legends and popular tales,"[32] the villages he described as "miserable", and the Moldavians' principal trait is avarice, pride, and indolence. During the previous eighty years there had been "sixty hospodars deposed in Wallachia and Moldavia, and twenty-five beheaded, drowned, hanged, assassinated, or poisoned, by order of the Porte."[33] Even given his brief stay in the country, his exaggeration, and his superficial contacts with Romanian society, the picture is bleak. The Russo-Turkish war of 1806-1812 further served to impoverish the Romanian lands. Yet even then forces were at work which augured dramatic changes for the decade ahead. The revolutionary foment unleashed by France and the growing weakness of the Ottoman regime were contributing to a rising independence impulse among the Christian peoples of European Turkey. Serbia rose in revolt in 1804, and after ten years' fighting, achieved autonomy in 1815 under Milos Obrenovici. In 1814 at Odessa the secret society Philike Hetaireia was founded, and soon gained adherents in Bucharest, Iasi, and the Black Sea ports of Galati and Braila. Here a number of enlightened Romanian boiars, under the influence of the second generation of Transylvanian scholars and intelligentsia such as Timoteiu Cipariu, Simion Barnutiu, and Gheorghe Baritiu who had spread their ideas into the other two principalities, now prepared the ground for a movement of national unification and independence form Greek influence in particular and Turkish sovereignty over Romanians in general. Soon Gheorghe Lazar introduced

dramatic modifications into the educational system at the St. Sava School, teaching now in the Romanian language and advocating so-called "national" ideas, a system continued by Ion Eliade Radulescu. Alongside the boiar elements were tradesmen and merchants who sought freedom from the monopolistic restrictions on commerce imposed by the Porte, and a significant segment of small landholding peasants seeking relief from burdensome taxation, a taxation harder than ever to bear since the total number of taxpayers over the past decades had been reduced to half owing to the increase in the ranks of those exempted from any taxes, and the growing number of merchants rising into boiar ranks. Into this milieu came Tudor Vladimirescu and the revolutionary outbreak of 1821.

With Tudor short-lived rebellion, the Romanians took the first major step on the path which would lead to union and independence half a century later. Born a free peasant in the district of Gorj around 1780, Tudor had fought in the Russian ranks as a lieutenant heading a corps of pandours or free peasants during the war ending in 1812. He was instrumental in forming contacts with the Moldavian "Protection Committee" and collaborating with Alexander Ypsilanti, head of the Hetairist organization in Moldavia, during the planning stages for the Oltenian rising of 1821, and he had also seen service with Karajorge during the first Serbian rising. Something of the rough notions of equality which prevailed a among the Serbian chiefs seems to have rubbed off on him. He was expected to be one of Ypsilanti's main supports, yet conflicts of aims would help doom both men's causes. What most concerns us is the manner in which Tudor presented his goals; he was fighting not against the native boiars nor even, indeed, against the Porte, but only against the alien Phanariote princes and their minions. Whether Tudor grew inspired by the eagerness with which the people rallied to him, or whether he himself truly meant to present his movement as one of popular liberation and affirmation of freedom for the Romanian masses is difficult to say. But from the very beginning there was a popular, democratic note in his pronouncements. He demanded the establishment of a national Romanian government, and we hear an unwonted appeal to "the cause of the people." To Ypsilanti's rebuke that he was drifting from the cause of the Hetaireia, Vladimirescu responded with words that his countrymen would never tire of quoting: "Greece belongs to the Greeks, but Roumania to the Roumanians."[34] He spoke thusly, "by the right which my sword gives me in my own country." Dissension between the leadership proved fatal. Early in 1822 Tudor was taken prisoner by Ypsilanti's lieutenant, and the Romanian chief was put to death without a trial. The popular movement largely collapsed, and with it any chance for broad-based support in favor of Ypsilanti's goals. What is most important was the legacy of Tudor, the idea of what took place in 1821-1822, rather than the reality. Men openly called him "Domnul Tudor" and even "Tudor Voda" even before his death, popular lore sprang up around his name; he increasingly was compared to the great medieval unifiers such as Stefan and Mihai. Even today the relative obscurity which surrounds his motives and actions serves only to add to the semi-mythical quality of this first star in the galaxy of Romanian nineteenth century heroes. A group of boiars in a memorandum to the tsar assured their august reader that "the people, in making Vladimirescu its chief, was not animated by a spirit of revolt, but by a patriotic zeal."[35] Moreover, in practical terms, Tudor's rebellion put an end to the Phanariote regime. The Turks, anxious to separate the Romanians from the uprising in the Morea, saw fit to grant some of their principal-demands. Thus it was that by July, 1822, native rulers were named for

Moldavia and Wallachia once again, and the century of Phanar was ended. In the near future lay Adrianopole and the next major step on the road to nationhood.

NOTES

[1]Frederick Hertz, Nationality in History and Politics (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944), p. 3.

[2]Marie-Madeleine Martin, The Making of France: the Origins and Development of the Idea of Nationality Unity (London: Spottiswoode & Byre, 1951), p. 40.

[3]The phrase is Martin's, p. 116.

[4]Alfred Cobban, The Nation State and National Self-Determination (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1969), p. 39.

[5]Representative is Nicolae Banescu, Les duches byzantins de Paristrion (Paradounavon) et de Bulgarie (Bucarest, 1946), 193p., which gives a well-documented picture of the Romanians spread on both sides of the Danube in the 10th and 11th centuries.

[6]R. W. Seton-Watson, A History of the Roumanians, from Roman Times to the Completion of Unity (Cambridge: University Press, 1934), p. 16.

[7]Brutus Coste, "Growth of the Romanian Nation and Evolution of Society Until the Turkish Conquest," Romanian Sources, I, Part 2 (July, 1975), p. 6.

[8]Paul Cernovodeanu, Societatea Fuedala Romaneasca, vazuta de calatori Straine, secolele XV-XVIII (Bucuresti: ARSR, 1973), p. 45.

[9]Ibid., p. 46.

[10]Ibid., pp. 48-49.

[11]Franz Carl Heinrich Babinger, Robert Bargrave, un voyageur anglais dans les pays roumains du temps de Basile Lupu (1652) (Bucuresti: 1935),49 p.

[12]See, e.g., Paul Cernovodeanu, "Tarile romane in viziunea calatorilor englezi," Studii si materiale de istorie medie, VI (1973), 112-116; Jean Louis Carra, Histoire de la Moldavie et de la Valachie--avec une Dissertation sur l'etat actuel de ces duex Provinces (Neuschatel: l'Imprimerie de la Societe Typographique, 1781), 371 p.; Henry Philip Baerlein, The Romanian Scene (London: F. Muller Ltd., 1945), xvi, 223 p.

[13]Keith Hitchins, "The Sacred Cult of Nationality: Rumanian Intellectuals and the Church in Transylvania, 1834-1869," in Stanley B. Winters and Joseph Held, eds., Intellectual and Social Developments in the Habsburg Empire from Maria Theresa to World War I (Boulder, Colo.: East European Quarterly, Monograph No. XI, 1975), p. 147.

[14]Cernovodeanu, Societatea Feudala. . ., p. 46.

[15]Ibid., p. 141.

[16]Seton-Watson, p. 79.

[17]D. J. Hall, Romanian Furrow (London: George G. Harrap & Co., 1933), p. 32.

[18]James O. Noyes, Roumania: the Border Land of the Christian and the Turk, comprising Adventures of Travel in Eastern Europe and Western Asia (New York: Rudd & Carleton, 1857), p. 11.

[19]Ibid., p. 190.

[20]Ibid., p. 187.

[21]Ibid., p. 118.

[22]Hitchins, p. 137.

[23]William Wilkinson, An Account of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia: with various Political Observations Relating to Them (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, 1820), p. 151.

[24]Hitchins, p. 148.

[25]As with many ethnic churches in America, the Romanian Orthodox establishment has been the instrument of divisiveness and quarreling among Romanian-Americans more often than a source of spiritual comform and reinforcement of ethnic identification. See the author's forthcoming book on "Romanian-Americans: the Immigrant Experience," and also by way of comparison Victor Greene, For God and Country: the Rise of Polish and Lithuanian Ethnic Consciousness in America (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1975), and Christine Avghi Galitzi, The Assimilation of Romanians in the United States (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929).

[26]Andrei Otetea, ed., The History of the Romanian People (Bucharest: Scientific Publishing House, 1970), p. 288.

[27]Ibid., pp. 290-291.

[28]Seton-Watson, p. 98.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Ibid., p. 177.

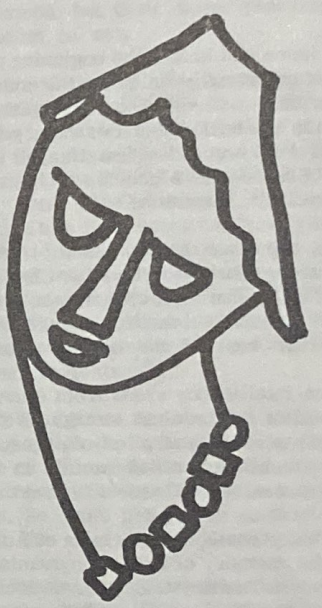
[31]Baron Camphausen, Travels Through Several Provinces of the Russian Empire; with an Historical Account of the Zaporag Cossacks, and of Bessarabia, Moldavia, Wallachia, and the Crimea (London: Richard Phillips, 1808), p. 91.

[32]Ibid., p. 119.

[33]Ibid., p. 93.

[34]Seton-Watson, p. 198.

[35]Ibid., p. 199.



Rodica BOTOMAN

ANNA NEAGOE – REFLECTIONS ON AN AFTERNOON.

After twenty hours of driving over a stretch of a thousand miles to reach sleepy, sundrenched Bradenton, Florida, we finally end our treck, standing on the doorstep of a tiny and weathered white house. Enjoying the flowers and cacti, around us, we ring the doorbell, Soon the smal door opens, revealing the warm, welcoming smile of Anna Neagoe, widow of the Romanian-American writer Peter Neagoe.

We step into her home and launch the beginning of a most memorable afternoon. As our hostess entertains us, we admire the countless paintings on her walls. The colorful portraits and nudes, painted by this tiny figure of a woman, demand comparison with Modigliani and Cezanne, yet they stil reveal the intriguing inner world of Anna, an artist boasting an impressive record of prestigious exhibitions in France and America, such as at the Peggy Guggenheim Collection and the Brooklyn Museum.

She stands today, a painter that has earned international recognition and respect. The St.Petersburg Times' art critic Charles Benbow comments on her abstract works: "They are iconic or symbols of personal nature and yet they play against each other in tensions of color and space which recall the pure abstractions of the best of the early modernists such as Kadinsky."(1)

Vitality and keen intelligence exude from Anna's frail figure despite her years. Her studio captures this endless energy. We see a canvas showing the beginnings of a new oil painting and piles of pages from the Memoires she is currently writing. Upon the heart of a wall we find an old photograph of her husband and we must ask ourselves: What was behind this man's creative genius?

Peter Neagoe greatly enriched the realm of American literature with his lyrical work evoking the memory of the Transylvanian village of his childhood. His writing is included in Edward O'Brian's collection, Best Short Stories in the English Language . His first novel, Eastern Sun, was published in 1934 in the United States, England and France. His writing was also translated into Dutch, Swedish and German. Eugene Jolas appropriately introduced Neagoe to the public with the following words: "Transylvania, New York, and Paris are evoked with their humanity, differing, yet unanimiste in almost fairy-tale-like dimensions. One feels in them the wonder coming from a mysterious,pristine world with which we all are in contact, in spite of language, national frontiers and continental peculiarities."

A special shelf in Anna's studio-library holds the entire work of her husband. This is her world, a world where she is never lonely. Here, she relates to us a stream of vivid recollections of Neagoe, going back in time to her first meeting with her husband in New York as newcomers to America. She remembers herself as a lively Lithuanian girl. They were introduced to each other at a friend's home during a quiet evening of chess. She recalls Peter as young, handsome and very impressive. From the very start of their acquaintance, Anna knew that he was an unusually special man. That initial encounter at the chess

board stretched into a relationship that survived a lifetime.

Their first years together proved difficult. Peter painted portraits while Anna studied art. Looking back, Anna now holds before us an old photo of their home in Woodstock, New York. It stirs memories of those early days when she and her husband decided to retreat to upstate New York with a group of artists to work the land and paint. They showed much of the same pioneer spirit of those who gathered there decades later for the legendary youth, utopian Woodstock Rock Festival. With a pensive grin, she reflects: "Our Woodstock art colony did not work...to work the land and to paint proved to be more difficult than we had expected." Time passed, but their house remained a symbol of their youthful dreams and dedication to art.

The years that followed were filled with excitement,enthusiasm and hard work. Anna finds that the years spent in Paris, 1926-1933, were the most productive and satisfying for both she and her husband. "It was Paris that made Peter a writer," Anna said. In the City of Lights, he met Eugene Jolas and Whit Burnett, who published in their magazines STORY and TRANSITION many of Peter's writings. During this period, Peter also edited and published the anthology: AMERICANS ABROAD. This brought him close contact with such writers as Ernest Hemingway, Ezra Pound, Kay Boyle, Gertrude Stein, Henry Miller and many others. Anna heartily remembers al of these young writers and many artists, among them Matisse and Picasso, meeting at Gertrude Stein's "salon" and at the "Dome" in Montparnasse, exchanging ideas on art and life. Although some became famous, they all had to struggle for recognition. However, their years in Paris yielded great accomplishments.(2)

Anna presented exhibitions at this time at the Gallerie Bonaparte, Salon du Tuilleries and L'exposition de la Drome. Later, the Neagoes moved to the medieval French town of Mirmande-Drome. Peter's distinct literary characters emerged from the rustic, halcoyn ambience found there. Within this womb of thick, ancient walls, he could gather the memories of his Romanian childhood that " moved with the wind in the wheat field,", as Whit Burnett described.(3)

During this time, the Neagoe's close friendship with Constantine Brancusi developed. Peter's novel, THE SAINT OF MONTPARNASSE, is about Brancusi. Today, Anna remembers this man quite well. "He was very handsome and intelligent," she said. "He was a frequent visitor to our house. I remember with what pleasure they spoke Romanian together - the two of them evoked the spirit of their beloved homeland, Romania."

It was out of tribute to the unforgettable friendship between Peter and Brancusi that Anna published Peter's book, THE SAINT OF MONTPARNASSE, in 1965 after the death of her husband.

After their prolific work in France, the Neagoes returned to America where they continued their work with even greater intensity. But Europe would always own part of their souls. They crossed the ocean to visit it often. In 1937, Peter returned to Romania, his native land, whose spirit was always with him. Anna sadly regrets not accompanying her husband and never tasting first hand the true essence of Peter;s Transylvania, a place she knew only through his powerfully simple words, a land he loved until his death.

As the twilight sun washes the room, Anna reflects upon the death of her husband. She says in a soft , sad voice, "In 1960, when Peter died, I thought I died too. I still wonder why God kept me alive." This is when she decided to leave New York and return to a house in Sarasota where she and Peter had spent many pleasant days. Total immersion into her painting and arranging exhibitions kept Anna going strong after her husband's passing. The numerous awards she has since received are proudly displayed before us in her present home in Bradenton, where she moved just a few years ago.

Today she devotes much of her time preparing her book ANNA AND PETER for publication through the New York literary agent Bertha Klousner (International Agency).

Long a painter, she now finds herself an author accepted by the literary world, as was witnessed in her enthusiastic reception at a recent literary gathering in St. Petersburg organized by B. Klousner. She recalls the warm reception, " There were around 20 artists and writers. I was very pleased to be among them."

After nearly half a century of creative work, she is still working as intensely as in the past. Each moment with Anna Neagoe is a revelation, each mirrors the past and the present. Yet she still offers surprises as is seen in her recent correspondence with the President and Mrs. Carter. "We can conquer space," she said. "We can go into the unkown...we do the unbelievable but still, the king is naked. A child can see that. The grown-ups see it too..." she adds, and offer solutions "so as not to hear the cry for bread in this world."

She follows a simple philosophy, rooted in ancient wisdom: "Today is my day, so I enjoy every minute of it. Tomorrow is in God's hands."

This whisper of a woman draws strength and renewed vigor from her many years, rather than bowing to them. She personiefies a creative force that never fades. Through her solid energy and delicate sensivity, a deep insight into Peter Neagoe is unfolded before us. "A man who was living, acting not to please others, or to be admired, but was true to himself in every way and everything he did. This was my husband."

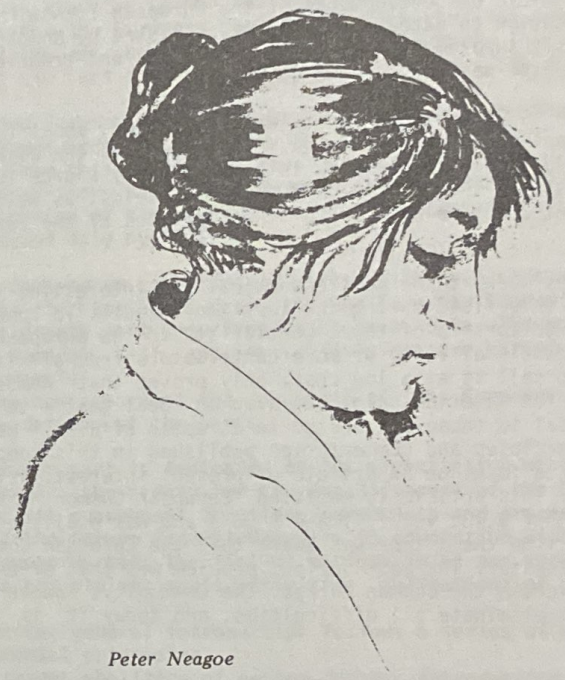
Our visit is now over. We exchange warm goodbyes like old friends, as if we have known her throughout our own lives. Leaving the little house of Anna Neagoe, we feel renewed, inspired and refreshed. We head for home, surrounded by tranquil palm trees, brilliant flowers and the echoing laughter of dolphins playing in the nearby gulf. Thoug this all-embracing Floridian lushness reminds us of Parnasse, our minds linger on the great, unforgettable Anna Neagoe.

July 1977 Ohio State University.

FOOTNOTES:

1. **Benbow, Charles, PARIS SCENE CLOSER, St. Petersburg Times, August 26, 1971.**

2. Several noted titles of Peter neagoe's are: STORM (1932) was banned in U.S.A. and released at the same time with James Joyce's ULYSSES; WHAT IS SURREALISM (1932); EASTER SUN (1934); THERE IS MY HEART (1936) and A TIME TO KEEP (1949). All his books received critical recognition.
3. Neagoe, Peter, STORM, Paris, New Review Publications, 1932, p. 10.



Peter Neagoe

BOOK REVIEWS.

Hans von der Groeben,Hans von Boeckh & Jochen Thissen, HANBOOK FOR EUROPEAN TRADE. Baden-Baden,Nomos Verlagsgeselschft,1977. 198 D.M.

This Handbook was compiled by Hans von der Groeben, former member of the European Common Market, Hans von Boeckh, former cabinet director, and Jochen Thissen,former judicial counselor of the European Common Market.

The work, composed of sixteen index files with over 15,000 pages, includes not only all the treaties and agreements, but also an information section and a chronicle of developments of the European Economic Community since its foundation to date. The Handbook,published by Nomos Verlag, will be continuously supplemented with new agreements and treaties decided upon and signed by the partners of the Community.

Until December 1976, 146 supplements were published, about 7.3 annual fascicles or a supplement every six weeks. Consequently, the work is kept permanently up to date. Thus, the work is a documentary source for everyone, the specialists in the judicial and economic fields, as well as those who seek investment or trade with one of the countries of the European Economic Community.

This voluminous work is the most economical and interesting judicial work published in this field during the last two decades. To compile such a work, under the editorship of three specialists in the European Common Market, with an additional fifty or more contributors from all fields of activities, and to sell it at a low cost, only proves that Nomos Verlag did not look only for material gain, but also an ideal goal - to offer a documentary material to those interested in European affairs. We cannot deal with all the articles and commentaries published in this Compendium, but we would like to focus on an article of present interest, written by Marcell von Donat. This article is entitled "European Common Market and the public opinion" (0,18, vol.I. I A-I A 30) and was published in January 1974. At that time the author was aware that the European Common Market was on verge of disaster. The most serious problem was that of energy which potentially could crush the Common Market. The Community, however, was eventually able to eliminate all difficulties, and today it is a viable organization.

The public's opinion views the organization differently from the officials. At the end of 1973, 15,000 people over fifteen years of age were questioned concerning the need of the Common Market.The majority were in favor of its existence and thought that it should be strengthened. The European public opinion desires to see the energy problem solved in common (68-82), another (68-93) requires the modernization of the agriculture, and 63-90 think that the social policy of the Common Market must be developed by a competent European government. Contrary to the position taken by the European finance ministers, the European people are in favor of increased taxes if necessary to give aid to a member state of the Community. This kind of solidarity was again proven during the last energy crisis, when the entire population of the Common Market was willing to make sacrifices for each other.

The author, however, underlines a negative aspect: the gap which exists

between the enthusiasm of the people for the Common Market and the level of information. The people are not informed. Only 20% are preoccupied with the European question. This "must be an alarm signal", states the author; and, in his opinion, "in order to democratize the Community and to achieve progress then it is necessary to keep the people well informed".

In 1974 the European public opinion requested elections for a European parliament, although the people did not know who was in fact competent for such a political institution. Marcel von Donat requires that all the politicians involved in European affairs translate words into facts.

Von Donat's corect interpretation was proven by an article written by Dietherb Goos in the newspaper Die Welt, on February 22,1977, entitled "The Elections for the European Parliament do not attract the People". Goos posits that the German political parties are concerned with the next elections for the European parliament which were set for May 1978, because the people do not show a special interest in them. This lack of interest is due to the fact that the people do not possess the necessary data.

Another interestingarticle written by Marcel von Donat is entitled "The European Economic Community and the United States". (0/17, IA-IA30, vol.1). From this article we find out that the trade relations between these two partners have been increased between 1962-1972 by 143%, while for the same period of time the volume of trade exchange with other partners has increased only by 127%.

This Compendium comprises 11 parts, with each part representing one field. The first ten parts deal with the European Economic Organizations, and the eleventh part comprises statistical data. The parts are indicated by Roman numerals I-Xi, and the subdivisions are marked with capitals and Arabic numerals.

To see how important the documents of this Compendium are, we would give some details of the parts:

I. The first part is dedicated to the organization of the European Economic Community: the treaty for the establishment of the Common Market, and a list of all subsequent treaties, agreements and proceedings; the declaration of the German Federal Republic in connection with the establishment of the Common Market; the list of various rules and work schedules;commentaries on principles, goals activities, obligations of participating states etc.

After the general introduction follows a series of chapters covering:

a. Fundamental principles.
b. Free trade, abolition of custom duties, introduction of the common duties, European custom law, German custom law.
c. Agriculture: common agrarian common policy, financial resources, rules for competition, minimal policies, state trade, accounting, the market order for produce, etc.
d. Free circulation of persons and currency, right to work.
e. Traffic: rules for common traffic, competition, the tranfer of merchandise, etc.
f. Common regulations: for the competition, anti-trust rules, ban on dumping, etc.
g. Economy: payments and trade rules.
h. Social policy: regulations, European social policy.
i. European Bank for investment: treaties for the bank, treaties with African states, Madagascar and Greece, Turkey, Tunisia Morroco.

j. Agencies of the Community: the Assembly, Council, Commission, Court, and common rules for other agencies: economic and social council.
k. Rules for the financial system.
l. Other rules: the forming of the agencies, the legal status of the Community, the responsibilities, the duration of the treaties, etc.; and a treaty for the German-French co-operation.

II.The second part deals with the European Free Trade Association. Here we find included the treaty for the foundation of the European Association of Free Exchange with annotations and appendixes: the treaty for the foundation of an Association between the members of the European Association of Free Exchange and Finland.

III.The third part deals with EURATOM - the European Community for Atomic Energy. It comprises: the treaty for the foundation of the European for the Atomic Energy with appendixes and the statements of the German Federal Government on the foundation of EURATOM. There is also a commentary on goals, research, spread of knowledge, health, investements, common enterprises, security, ownership, common market, public relations, agencies of the community, financial rules, and general rules.

IV.European Coal and Steel Community,with the treaty for the establishment of this organization: agencies, economic and social rules, general rules, the text of the contract with explanations of the common policy, and decisions of the Commission.

V. General Agreement on tariff and trade: treaty for custom and trade,with appendixes, including Kennedy Round (Geneva, 1964-1967).

VI.Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development: European Economic Council, the organization for co-operation and development, texts with appendixes, the free circulation of financial capital, the control of atomic energy, European chemical industry and custom agreements.

VII.Custom and Loan Agreements: international treaties for monetary funds, treaties concerning the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, treaties for international financial co-operation, treaties for the International Organization for Development.

VIII. The Council of Europe: the status of this council, human rights,social insurance, social charter, cultural agreements, trade agreements, peaceful regulations of conflicts, the free circulation of persons within the states, insurance for machineries, the freedom of television, etc.

IX.Economic Commission of Europe: the by-laws of the Commission,the international court of trading, etc.

X. Western Europe Union: the treaty of Brussels.

XI.Statistical data, by country European Free Trade Union, European Economic Community, Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, and data on international organizations , with name and address.

Koln, West Germany

Alexander SUGA

Tristan Tzara. Primele Poeme/First Poems. Translated by Michael Impey and Brian Swann. New York: New Rivers Press, 1976. $2.50 (paper) $10.00 (cloth).

Primele Poeme/First Poems is a sensitive translation of thirty-five early Romanian poems (and variants) of Tristan Tzara, the controversial, energetic Dada poet. Michael Impey and Brian Swann have succeded in translating the sense and texture of the original verse, a difficult task since Tzara's poetry does not follow rules of syntax, punctuation,and traditional logic.

Tzara's "selection of word association beyond the barriers set up by logic", (1) gives his poetry a strong element of serendipity for his readers, who will discover unusually conceived metaphors, whose elucidation lies only in the realm of sensuous or pictorial perception.

Despite the difficulty of the poems, the translators are not much help to the general reader. Impey and Swann state in their notes that they deliberately decided to keep footnotes to a minimum: "any attempt on our part ... to filter out impurities, to make transparent that which is intended to be opaque, shoul be treated with the scorn it deserves" ("Notes on the text", p. 13). Although I can understand the translators' hesitancy to explicate the work of a poet who found academic explication sheer anathema, I cannot help wishing that the book contained just a little more help in interpreting the complicated imagery. With some additional annotations, the book would be more useful to comparative literature students and general readers.

Like most Dada and Surrealist art, Tzara's poetry makes the reader work very hard to extract some meaning from the text. For biographical background and extensive excerpts from Tzara's numerous Manifestos, Elmer Peterson's Tristan Tzara: Dada and Surrational Theorist is the best source in English. One must recognize, however, that Tzara's manifestos are not all that helpful in reading his poetry. One must separate the Dadas' rhetoric from their art. Even these early Romanian poems show many stylistic elements and attitudes of mature surrealism, theories which were not articulated until years later. In surrealistic poetry, for example, it is the reader's responsibility "to participate in the creative act of the author by deriving from his own pool of personal associations his particular stream of thought." (2). In Primele Poeme, Tzara's work is not primarily an expression of ideas, but rather the creation of a series of images. To give the reader as much freedom as possible for mental association, Tzara purposely makes dangerous condensation of thought and imagery. "The Storm and the Deserter's Song" (pp.23-25) is a visually rich poem which requires one to read very carefully, often repeatedly, to appreciate (not necessarily understand) the poet's powerful evocation of the soldier's anguish, as in this excerpt:

Light yellowed as in a tulip
In sheets, clouds have torn away blue darkness
Through which I flee, bitten by rainsnakes,
So my light may reach bright distance.

Below depths of sadness,
Like a thunder stifled under the heavens
I'm a traveler with a dark soul,
Dark soul.
.....

The song, checked thought: frost splinters bones, crumbles flesh.
Let the heart weep.

The poems in Primele Poeme reflect the modern writer's shift from traditional discursive logic to a nondiscursive symbolism in which the poetic images act more like pictures which, by the nature of their visual form, "do not present their constituents successively, but simultaneously." (3). Tzara's Primele Poeme is a book of word-paintings, visual sensations experienced through words. To read Tzara is to walk through a verbal art gallery in which one must puzzle over images which are virtually concrete in shape, color, texture:

I like the domestic animals
In your soul's menagerie.
("*Sunday*," p. 34)

astrologers have secret meetings
in a room of the honey-comb palace
where they prepare future events
to translate love into pain.
("*Domestic Sadness*," p.37)

Lia, blond Lia
She would have swung
From a rope at night
Like a ripe pear.
("*Voice*," p.30)

Tzara noted that he and his friends had attempted to combine the genres of painting and literature "in order to give 'some play to art'." (4) What the critic Anna Balakian isolates as a quality of mature surrealist verse, applies as well to Tzara's Primele Poeme: "What made surrealist poetry obscure was not the misuse of words, but too succinct an association of ideas, too great a condensation of imagery, coupled with extreme verbal concisions." (5)

For a group of free-thinking writers who attempted to deny the influence of prior literary movements, Tzara and Dadas ironically, influenced not only the European Surrealists, Exitentialists, and dramatists of the Absurd, but also American and British writers as diverse as Henry Miller, E.E. Cummings, and James Joyce. Miller appreciated the spontaneity of the Dadas; Cummings adopted Dada's disregard for traditional punctuation and syntax, their use of pop culture and nondiscursive symbolism; (6) Joyce may have been influenced in his stream-of-consciousness technique by the Dadas' insistence on freedom of mental association beyond the rules of logic, and their use of words primarily for their evocation powers.

Primele Poeme/First Poems is a challenging collection by a man who served as an important catalyst of modern literary experimentation. Rather than the strident, nihilistic attacks on human institutions which appear in the manifestos, the young Tzara deals here with the private human emotions of love, bereavement and fear with a touch of sadness and black humor. The translators comment on the theme of the "futility of provincial life" (p. 11) which appears in the volume of poetry; but some poems, like "Vacation in the Provinces" and "Come With Me to the Country," contain lighthearted moments:

Beneath walnut-trees - where the heavy wind passes like a garden

of fountains

We'll play chess
Like two old pharmacists
And my sister will read newspapers in a hammok...

We'll strip on the hill
To scandalize the priest and give the girls a treat,
We'll walk about like farmboys in large straw hats...

pp.26-27

The book is full of stunning images, evoking a range of emotions from primal anguish to pleasant nostalgia. Tzara is not always successful: sometimes the images pile up until the reader tires of them and yearns for a simple statement; sometimes the parallels are mundane or uninspired. But Tzara is good often enough to be rewarding. Dip into the volume and follow Tzara's own advice:

The reader is here asked to pause
And ponder what he has read...

(p.57)

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Footnotes

1. Anna Balakian, Surrealism: The Road to the Absolute. New York, E.P. Dutton, 1970, p.165
2. Balakian, Surrealism, p. 143
3. Manvel L. Grossman, Dada: Paradox, Mystification, and Ambiguity in European Literature, New York, Pegasus, 1971, p.167
4. Grossman, Dada, p.170
5. Balakian, Surrealism, p.225
6. Cummings even wrote a lament for the end of Dada:

What's become of (if you please)
all the glory that or which was Greece
all the grandja
that was dada.

quoted in Grossman, Dada, p.155

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Ion Carja, Tom,Emperor of the Mountains. New York, Vantage Press,1977.

May Hill Arbuthnot, compiler of the Arbuthnot Anthology of Children's Literature, notes that "Stories about animals are so popular with modern children that it is sometimes a problem to get them to read anything else". (1). In the tradition of animal fables, Tom, Emperor of the Mountains, by Ion Carja, is an unpretentious but lively story which will hold the interest of young children as they follow the adventures of an orphaned kitten, who, rescued from the perils of the forest by a kindly woodsman, ventures, in adulthood, back into the forest where he must outwit a sly, ugly fox who wishes to marry him.

The story exhibits a startling contrast between scenes in the woods - man's home and those in the forest. The early scenes in which Tom and the woodsman's son become fast friends and the cat grows to maturity in the safety of the cottage, are warm-hearted and appealing. Any child, even one without a pet,will experience vicarious satisfaction in relating to the growing friendship between small boy and kitten. Good animal stories emphasize the vulnerability of animals and the need to treat these creatures with love and kindness. Carja's story teaches this lesson gently and with grace.

When Tom, now grown into a magnificently lithe black cat, returns to the forest in search of his youthful companion Gene, the atmosphere of the tale darkens, and suspense builds. The story takes on elements of a fairy tale with talking animals and a bad spirit in the form of a sly red fox. In fact, Carja's presentation of nature in the forest is a bit too harsh for a story directed at an audience of tiny listeners. (2) Despite this one tentative objection to the forest scenes, children will enjoy the many talking animals, from the dirty boar whose scent precedes him whereever he goes, to the noble stag with garlands of wild cheeries in his horns.

By the end of the story, the red fox's plans to snag Tom as a mate are foiled; but Carja's tale ends with a narrative pause rather than with the kind of definite conclusion that children find so satisfying. Tom has not found his young friend and the cat "only knew that somewhere Gene was thinking of him and that he had to meet him again." (3) As May H.Arbuthnot points out, children "like stories in which there is a brisk introduction that launches the plot, a development full of action and growing suspense, and conclusions that settle everything..." (4)Although one must fault Ion Carja's story for lacking Artbuthnot's last criterion for superior children's literature, it is not a fatal flaw.

Ion Carja, who died in the United States in May, 1977, was only incidentally a children's author. Although born in the United States in 1922, he went to school in Romania, completing a doctor of laws degree in 1948. He later received a Ph.D. from Columbia University in New York. As a student, Carja was general secretary of the Romanian Writers from Transylvania and editor of a Romanian newspaper. While in Romania, he was arrested and sentenced, as member of a secret anti-communist organization, to a total of ten years in prison. In 1965 he came to the United States, where he worked as a social worker. Carja wrote a personal narrative of political prisoners in Romania, Intoarcerea din Infern, whose first volume appeared in 1969.

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Footnotes.

1. Time for True Tales, in Arbuthnot Anthology of Children's Literature, compiled by May Hill Arbuthnot. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1953, p.2 .

2. The one scene which is particularly painful is the one in which the poor mother rabbit, in hiding, watches as a marten devours the three young babies.

3. Ion Carja, Tom, Emperor of the Mountains, p.33.

4. Time for True Tales, in Arbuthnot Anthology, p. IV.

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